

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 14884 01 OF 05 150555Z

11

ACTION SS-20

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 EUR-25 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CCO-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 ACDA-19 IO-14 ISO-00

CU-04 SAJ-01 EB-11 COME-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 DRC-01 /150 W

----- 130499

Z 141635Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 8173

AMEMBASSY SEOUL FLASH

USNATO BRUSSQELS FLASH 1032

USLO PEKING FLASH

LIMITED OFFICIAL SECTION 1 OF 5 TOKYO 14884

SECTO 175

EO 11652: NA

TAGS: OVIP JA CH

SUBJ: SECVISIT TOKYO - PRESS BACKGROUNDER

DEPARTMENT FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY AND PASS NSC FOR MAJOR  
GENERAL SCOWCROFT.

USNATO FOR AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD

PRESS BACKGROUNDER GIVEN NOVEMBER 14 IN TOKYO BY THE SECRETARY  
ON US-PRC COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWS. TEXT WAS ENBARGOED UNTIL 0800,  
WASHINGTON TIME, NOVEMBER 14.

I THINK THE MOST USEFUL WAY TO PROCEED IS TO ANSWER YOUR  
QUESTIONS AND JUST LET ME MAKE ONE OR TWO GENERAL COMMENTS.

AS I HAVE ALREADY SAID TO SOME OF YOU ON THE PLANE THERE

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 14884 01 OF 05 150555Z

ARE TWO WAYS OF LOOKING AT THESE DOCUMENTS. ONE IS WHAT

DO THEY SPECIFICALLY SAY, SECONDLY WHAT IS THE PROCESS OF WHICH THEY ARE A PART AND THEREFORE HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE TOTAL RELATIONSHIP, AND THE VISITS HAVE TO BE SEEN NOT AS AN ATTEMPT TO PRODUCE A DOCUMENT BUT RATHER THE DOCUMENT IS SORT OF A SURFACE STATEMENT AS OBVIOUSLY A FULL COMPREHENSIVE DETAILED EXAMINATION OF WORLD ISSUES TO MAKE SURE TWO COUNTRIES UNDERSTAND EACH OTHERS PURPOSES AND POLICIES AND THERE IS AN ATTEMPT TO MOVE FORWARD ON THE ROAD THAT I SKETCHED IN THE FIRST EVENING'S TOAST TOWARD NORMALIZATION AND I THINK THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. SO LET ME STOP HERE AND TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q. IN WHAT WAYS WOULD YOU SUGGEST THAT THIS IS DISTINCT FROM THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE?

A. FIRST OF ALL IT BROADENS THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE BEYOND THE ASIAN-PACIFIC AREA TO THE WORLD IN GENERAL. SECOND IT HAS A MUCH STRONGER STATEMENT ABOUT THE NEED OF CONTINUOUS CONSULTATIONS AT AUTHORITATIVE LEVELS. THIRD THERE IS A NUANCE IN THE CHINESE STATEMENT ABOUT WHAT NORMALIZATION DEPENDS UPON WHICH I BELIEVE FIT FOR YOU TO ANALYZE FOR YOURSELVES AND WHICH WILL BE THE BASIS OF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. FOURTH IT INVOLVES QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE UPDATING OF THE LIAISON OFFICES WHICH, OF COURSE, DID NOT EXIST AT THE TIME. SO THAT THE LAST FEW PARAGRAPHS ARE AN EXPANSION OF MATTERS THAT DID NOT EXIST AT THE TIME. THOSE I WOULD SAY ARE THE MAJOR EVOLUTIONS BEYOND THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

Q DR KISSINGER, HOW SHOULD ONE INTERPRET THIS PARTICULAR PHRASE ON PAGE 2, FIRST PARAGRAPH, "ONLY ON THE BASIS OF CONFIRMING THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE CHINA?"

A. HOW SHOULD YOU INTERPRET THAT? WELL, IT REPRESENTS A CERTAIN EVOLUTION IN THE SENSE THE REVIOUSLY VERY SPECIFIC AND DETAILED ACTS WERE REQUIRED WHILE NOW THE AFFIRMATION OF THE PRINCIPLE AND WE WILL EXPLORE THIS OVER THE NEXT MONTHS IN GREAT DETAIL.

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 14884 01 OF 05 150555Z

Q. YOU HAVE SAID THAT US RECONGNIZES THAT THERE IS ONE CHINA. YOU HAVE BEEN SAYING THAT NOW FOR (SECRETARY SAID, "WELL, IN THAT CASE IT IS UP TO YOU TO ARGUE THAT THE PRINCIPLE HAS ALREADY BEEN MET, BUT WE ARE NOT SAYING THAT").

Q. IS THIS THE NUANCE YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT?

A. THAT'S THE NUANCE AND THE CHINESE POSITION.

Q. MR SECRETARY, CAN ONE CONCLUDE FROM THE READING OF THIS THAT THE PREVIOUS US CONDITION ON REDUCING FORCES AS TENSION IN THE AREA DIMINISHES HAS BEEN FULFILLED?

A. WELL I WOULDN'T SAY THAT, BUT YOU CAN SAY IT IS IN THE PROCESS OF BEING FULFILLED.

Q. DID YOU PROJECT IF FURTHER IN YOUR TOAST?

A. THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN MAINTAINED.

Q. WHICH GENERAL PRINCIPLE?

A. OF REDUCING FORCES AS TENSION DIMINISHES.

Q. THERE WAS AN AFP REPORT FROM PEKING YESTERDAY THAT ONE OF THE SUBJECTS YOU DISCUSSED WITH THE CHINESE WAS A REDUCTION OF OUR FORCES IN KOREA.

A. I WOULD SAY ONLY THAT AFP WOULD BE THE LAST AGENCY TO KNOW WHAT WE DISCUSSED EVEN WITH THE CHINESE. BUT THERE HAVE BEEN NO LEAKS OF THIS KIND OF OUR DISCUSSION. A REDUCTION OF OUR FORCES IN KOREA IS NOT--FIRST OF ALL THERE IS NOT SPECIFIC REDUCTION OF OUR FORCES IN KOREA NOW BEING PLANNED. THE REDUCTION OF OUR FORCES IN KOREA WILL BE RELATED TO THE OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE SECURITY REQUIREMENTS IN THE PACIFIC AND IT IS NOT A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION WITH THE CHINESE.

Q. WAS IT A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION WITH THE CHINESE?

A. I WILL ANSWER THIS QUESTION, BUT I WILL NOT ANSWER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 TOKYO 14884 01 OF 05 150555Z

ANY OTHER QUESTION IN WHICH YOU ASK ME WHAT WAS OR WAS NOT DISCUSSED, BECAUSE ON THAT BASIS I WILL SOON GIVE YOU A CHECK LIST. THAT PARTICULAR SUBJECT WAS NOT A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION. THE SUBJECT OF THE REDUCTION OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN KOREA.

1. (TWO PEOPLE ASKED QUESTION AT THE SAME TIME).

A. HELEN, I CAN GO INTO--HAVE ANSWERED THE QUESTION THAT ALL THE SUBJECTS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WERE DISCUSSED AND THAT THE AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE AREA OBVIOUSLY WAS DISCUSSED AS WELL AS A VIEW OF BOTH SIDES TOWARDS THEIR OWN COMPLEX OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Q. CAN YOU SAY HOW MANY TROOPS WE HAVE IN

TAIWAN NOW?

A. YOU OUGHT TO GO TO THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT--MY INSTINCT IS SOMETHING LIKE 6,000-6,500.

Q. CAN YOU SAY WHAT AREA AND NUMBER OF EXCHANGES ARE INVOLVED?

A. I WILL SAY A WORD ABOUT THAT IN A MINUTE. THE EXCHANGES INVOLVED ARE IN THE PERFORMING ARTS, PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE--THE ACTUAL EXCHANGES AS YOU KNOW ARE HANDLED BY PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS AND WE WILL BE DEALING WITH THEM ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF THE LIST AND WE HAVE AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE AS TO THE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE AND AS TO THE TYPES OF EXCHANGES. WE WILL NOW WORK THESE OUT IN GREATER DETAIL WITH THE PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED AND THEN THEY WILL BE ANNOUNCED APPROPRIATELY. AS FAR AS THE NEWSMEN ARE CONCERNED, I RAISED THIS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PROBLEM IS THIS: THEY ARE IN PRINCIPLE PREPARED TO HAVE PERMANENT OFFICES IN PEKING. THEIR DIFFICULTY IS THAT ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY WHAT THE

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MRN: 1973TOKYO 014884 SEGMENT NUMBER: 000002 ERROR READING TEXT INDEX  
FILE; TELEGRAM TEXT FOR THIS SEGMENT IS UNAVAILABLE  
MRN: 1973TOKYO 014884 SEGMENT NUMBER: 000003 ERROR READING TEXT INDEX  
FILE; TELEGRAM TEXT FOR THIS SEGMENT IS UNAVAILABLE  
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PAGE 01 TOKYO 14884 05 OF 05 141933Z

46  
ACTION SS-30

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----- 125559  
Z 141635Z NOV 73  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO RUEHCXSECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 8177  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL FLASH  
USNATO BRUSSELS FLASH 1036  
USLO PEKING FLASH

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 5 OF 5 TOKYO 14884

EXDIS

SECTO 175

THE FORMAL ASPECT HAS ABOVE ALL A SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE, BECAUSE PRACTICALLY THE EXCHANGES AND THE DISCUSSIONS ARE ALREADY ACHIEVED MAY NOT NECESSARILY BE AFFECTED BY ANY CHANGES IN LEGAL RELATIONSHIP. I WOULD RATHER PUT IT SLIGHTLY DIFFERENTLY THOUGH. I WOULD SAY THAT THE PATTERN OF OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN TO START OUT WITH STATEMENTS OF PRINCIPLE, TO FILL OUT THOSE STATEMENTS OF PRINCIPLE THROUGH A NUMBER OF CONCRETE ACTION BEFORE THAT PROCESS IS COMPLETED TO MAKE SOME FURTHER PROGRESS ON THE THEORETICAL OR THE PRINCIPLE LEVEL, BUT TO CONTINUE TO FILL OUT THE PRACTICAL SIDE, AND IN THIS WAY TO MOVE IT FORWARD.

Q. DR. KISSINGER, CAN I GET IN ONE QUESTION - CAN YOU TELL US ANY SPECIFIC MEASURES THAT MIGHT BE TAKEN TO CREATE THESE CONDITIONS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE THAT ARE MENTIONED.

A. WELL, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF NEGOTIATIONS THAT ARE NOW GOING ON, SUCH AS BLOCKED ASSETS AND PRIVATE CLAIMS -- YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THOSE NEGOTIATIONS. THERE IS OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 14884 05 OF 05 141933Z

COURSE MFN QUESTION WHICH HAS NOT BEEN FORMALLY RAISED BUT WHICH IS ALWAYS IMPLIED.

Q. I JUST WANT TO ASK IF THIS BROAD UNDERSTANDING THAT YOU SEEMED TO HAVE REACHED - TO MOVE FORWARD - TO ACCELERATE - HAS ITSELF BEEN ACCELERATED SOMEWHAT BY THINGS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SEEMED TO HAVE SOURED ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS.

A. I WOULDN'T SAY THAT WE HAVE SOURED IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS- I HAVE ALWAYS SAID THAT THE DETENTE IS NOT MADE NECESSARY BECAUSE WE LOVE EACH OTHER, BECAUSE WE HAVE SIMILAR OBJECTIVES, IT IS MADE NECESSARY PRECISELY BECAUSE WE HAVE DIFFERENT POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND IN MANY AREAS WE HAVE DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES. IT IS MADE NECESSARY BY THE OVERWHELMING DANGER OF GENERAL NUCLEAR WAR. AND THAT NECESSITY, THE NECESSITY OF PREVENTING A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST, HAS CERTAINLY BEEN UNDERLINED BY EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE WERE BROUGHT INTO SEVERAL DIFFICULT PERIODS, BUT THE COURSE ON WHICH WE ARE IS

ESSENTIALLY WHAT WE WOULD HAVE ATTEMPTED TO ACHIEVE ON  
PREVIOUS VISITS TO CHINA AND IS NOT A REACTION ON OUR  
SIDE TO EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THANK YOU.  
KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

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